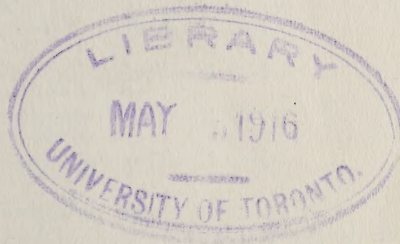
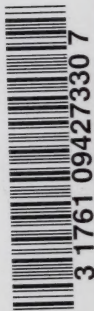


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Germanistic soc. of  
Chicago

# THE·FOLLOWING-A· UNITED·NATION

AN · ADDRESS · DELIVERED · BY  
HONORABLE · CHARLES · NAGEL ·  
BEFORE · THE · GERMANISTIC ·  
SOCIETY · OF · CHICAGO · ON · THE ·  
29TH · OF · FEBRUARY · 1916 ★ ...



# FOREWORD

The following series of pamphlets, dealing with questions relative to the European war, has been issued by the Germanistic Society for the purpose of serving the cause of truth, of correcting misrepresentation, and of exemplifying the spirit of objectivity and fair play.

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THE GERMANISTIC SOCIETY  
OF CHICAGO . . . . .

Louis Guenzel, Recording Secretary  
111 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.



# The Following—A United Nation

By

HONORABLE CHARLES NAGEL

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: That I accept your invitation to speak under the auspices of this Society as a very great compliment, I need hardly say. That compliment is accentuated by the circumstance that I have endeavored on several occasions in different parts of this country to discuss questions somewhat akin to the one to which I propose to address myself this evening.

I need not state to you that at this time I do not think it worth while to speak upon any subject that is not close to our hearts, and that, in my judgment, should be close to the hearts of every American citizen. The questions are necessarily delicate; difficult to discuss. It is easy to exaggerate and to indulge in extravagant statements. It is not easy, as Pitt at one time said in the English parliament, to be severe and at the same time to be parliamentary.

I do not propose to indulge in criticism of our official life. I may differ here and there, and, indeed I do, but I regard it as extremely dangerous in matters of international importance to indulge in wholesale criticism, because there are many things that we cannot know, and we must trust that ultimately wisdom will point the way. In other words, I propose to address myself more especially to those influences in our country which seek to mold that public opinion, which, after all, decides the course of official life. This is a republic, and the people speak. I, for my part, have endeavored and shall endeavor to make some opposition to influences which to my mind have been all too active, to force the administration into a position that in my judgment cannot be justified.

What, in my opinion, we need above all things in this country is to consider our own affairs. We have troubles enough of our own. And the foundation of a fair consideration of our own questions, influenced no doubt by sympathy and by opinion of foreign relations, depends more upon a proper understanding, a spirit of toleration and sympathy among ourselves, than upon anything else. There has been a painful absence of willingness to remember that we are a new people—an amalgamated people—composed of representatives of all the nations of the earth; and that there can be no real union, no

people of the United States, unless we bear with each other; unless we seek to understand each other; unless we endeavor to form opinions made up of the sympathies and judgments of all our people, to bind and hold us together for the support of our own country. (Applause.)

This has been impressed upon me more of late than ever before; more especially by all the discussions we now hear about preparedness. I wonder how many people really appreciate that preparedness cannot be brought about by discussions at luncheons and at conventions; that it takes something that goes down deep, below declamation, below candidacy, below law, down into the hearts and souls of the men, women and children of a nation. At present we seem to be talking more especially of military preparedness. For years I have believed that there should be more military preparedness in this country than there is, and I believe it now. For years I have contended that military preparedness is not necessarily an unmixed cost, but that in real preparedness there is involved a strengthening of men and women, of their sense of responsibility to the state and to each other that makes up a hundredfold for all the cost that is incurred. (Applause.) But, while we speak of this preparedness, let us remember what we thought of it a year and a half ago. Then we heard little but denunciation of militarism; and now its praises are heard in every utterance. (Applause.) There is not a note sounded today in this country demanding military preparation that is not based upon the experience of the country that we denounced. Of course, we do not call it the German system. We call it the Swiss system, because it sounds better. (Applause.) Military preparedness in that sense means a preparation from childhood up, a bringing up with devotion to country, to something else but self, to an outside good. It means a devotion, a self-abnegation which we need more in this country than anything else. (Applause.) But, it is not military training alone that we need if we are to have real preparedness. That lesson, it seems to me, we have also learned by this time by watching the countries on the other side.

True preparedness means an economic system as a foundation. That we have known for years; at least those of us who read. We did not have to read more than thoughtful English books to know that Germany has excelled, because she adopted years ago an economic system that reached far beyond the political remedies with which Great Britain and the United States have sought to cure their ills. I am not a convert to that view now, because I have stated it again and again in public speech long before this war. I have said again and again that we need not imitate Germany's system, but



that we must evolve a system that will bring about the same results if we propose in the long run to compete successfully for foreign trade. Englishmen have said that in their country; we have said it here; but we have continued to meddle with political remedies as cure-alls, in the hope that statute or resolution would cure our complaints. We have failed to realize that preparedness means a complete system—military, economic and human.

In the days when we talked about conservation in this country—as we always talk about one thing at a time, not remembering that all these things hang together—many of us approved the policy to conserve coal, copper and timber, but insisted that above all things we need the conservation of men, women and children in this country. That is what we need now. (Applause.)

That is the whole scheme of preparedness. If you ask today what is the source of Germany's strength—for no one now doubts that she has demonstrated her power—we find that it is the completeness of her system; a system of which, as I have said before, the military is nothing but the point of the arrow, and the industrial and social scheme is the shaft that drives the arrow. That is what we need. (Applause.)

She has evolved a system for the protection of her men, women and children, of which we have no conception. We think we can do it by statute. We think that we can remedy law's omissions by private charity. No doubt we can do much, but it will take a long time before we reduce it to an acceptable system. In the meantime Germany has done one thing, and this is, that she has found a way to protect men and women without coddling them. We do not know how to protect without making weak and dependent. She has solved the problem which, to my mind, is the greatest problem of modern times. (Applause.)

I am not talking about the foreign war; I am considering the evidences that the foreign war has brought to the attention of all people; and I am only repeating what I have said again and again years before the war. We need understanding of these things; we need toleration; we need a willingness to accept what is shown us; we need forbearance; we must learn to appreciate what this country has done, appreciate what that country has done, and, taking the best of all, make it our own; eliminate as best we can the vices of all the people that come to us, and accept the virtues, and justify the republic.

Let me illustrate. I know there have been extravagant things said on all sides, and I may claim at least the right to say that I have done what I could to allay them. I do not want to arouse dis-

cord, but neither will I take my orders from people who seek to make me prove my citizenship and my loyalty because I am not of English descent. (Applause.) I am trying to be neutral, and I do not want to be hectored by men who boast of their unneutrality. I am speaking of the forces that are trying to compel us to take position upon a foreign issue with respect to which we ought to be neutral.

We are told by distinguished men at this time that our country should have protested, perhaps intervened, on account of Belgium. Why is this said now? Because we are in the year of a presidential election, and the attempt is made to excite passion for the purpose of that election. That is all. Time enough to discuss those questions when the war is over. Little was said when we failed to protest. Why discuss it in that spirit now, if it is not to excite passion and prejudice for a present purpose?

If we must discuss it, why do we not remember that Korea was taken; and ask why we did not protest. I know it is said today that Korea yielded; but I think it is safe to add that she did not yield until she knew that we would not act. Why, to balance the scales and to let the protest, on account of the infraction of international law (if it is to be so construed), come with dignity, why do we not speak of Greece? (Applause.) In other words, if our obligation to protest because of the interference with small states by greater powers is to have any force, moral or otherwise, impartiality must be the foundation of our conduct. If the complaint is confined to Belgium, it leads to the inevitable suspicion that much of the cry for Belgian relief is based less upon sympathy for Belgians than it is upon animosity for another country. (Applause.)

We are told that a great opportunity was lost when the protest was not made. I think an equal opportunity was lost when we did not join Holland in protesting against the infraction of international laws as to blockade and the shipments of non-contraband goods. Holland protested, not alone because of the injury which she suffered, but because she said that she thought it was her place to speak in the name of international law, and to protest against the lowering of the standards of the law between nations. That was the time for us to protest, if protests were to be entered and if we were disposed to take a dignified place among nations.

But since we speak of opportunities neglected, in my opinion one of the greatest opportunities that was ever lost in this country was when we failed at the beginning of the war to appeal to all the people of the United States to regard the suffering on the other side without reference to race or country. When we failed to extend our



sympathy and our charity to all the sufferers alike; and to make all our contributions to the American Red Cross, instead of promoting conflicting collections in this country which have aroused the passions in our midst. That was the time and the opportunity to bring our people to a mutual understanding of each other, to create sympathy, consideration, appreciation and respect; and to base upon an appeal to all our people for all the sufferers of the earth the strongest incentive for a united people of the United States that was ever placed within our reach. (Applause.) That opportunity was lost; and we had as many charity collections in this country as there were peoples fighting on the other side. We fought each other, as it were, in the name of charity on this side. For one whole year I contended that every contribution should be made to the American Red Cross, trusting to it to make fair division. The President of the United States is president of that organization, and could have guaranteed fairness. But, at the end of the year, we were bound to acknowledge that the idea could not be carried out. Then I concluded, inasmuch as I had been thrown out of the front door, I would come back through the kitchen, and contribute to various collections as long as my money holds out. I propose to be neutral. (Applause.) I think that is the test of neutrality. In St. Louis we have a Belgium Relief now. I am chairman of it. French, Belgians, Jews and Germans work together, just as Americans should co-operate for a unique cause. They unitedly aid a people who cannot be aided by the invading army; a people who are without materials and work because Great Britain will not let materials come in; with respect to whom both belligerents have, however, agreed that any material that we collect on this side shall be delivered, and under the control of our commission shall be used for the civilians alone. That is neutrality.

There are other conditions that test our attitude. There was the wireless decision. Most people have forgotten about that; it is so long ago. It was decided that the wireless and the cable do not stand upon the same ground, because the wireless can communicate with the ships out at sea, and cannot be controlled; while a cable cannot communicate at sea, and therefore can be controlled. Of course, it never suggested itself to anybody that a cable message might be sent to this country and then sent by wireless from here. But that is beginning to dawn upon some people. Another argument was made that the cable was subject to destruction because it could be reached and cut; and a wireless station could not. I never saw the difficulty, excepting that somehow the enemy did not seem to be able to reach the wireless station. In both cases the stations on this side were secure upon our soil, and the stations on the other side were subject to destruction by the enemy. The allies had the same privilege to destroy wireless stations that they had to destroy the German cable, or that the Germans now have to destroy English cables or stations. The only difference was one of achievement. That is not a good distinction because it rests upon difference of conditions and not upon principle. It seemed to me that we were rather



positive in our decision, and it seems surprising to me that, right or wrong, there was not more discussion about so novel a question.

But granting the correctness of the decision, inasmuch as the cable depends upon our shores for protection, and is here by our leave, it seems to me it ought to be used impartially and freely. I am not speaking of the censored reports from the other side, because if they were not censored there they probably would be on this side. I am speaking of private communications, which should be free to go over, because the cable was instituted for that purpose, and it should now meet every purpose that was contemplated at the time it was laid. If there is any difficulty about this use—and you know there are difficulties, you know that many messages do not go over although they are paid for, and no money is returned—it appeared to me that then at least the mails should be guaranteed. If the mails between neutral countries are interfered with, then we are free, in my judgment, to invoke a power very much in the nature of an embargo, and to say that the cable shall not be used until the mails are free. That power we have. (Applause.)

Take the ammunition decision. I am not going to discuss the original question. I never did understand, however, why, if we had to go on selling ammunition because we had started to do it, we should now provide infinitely more than we were manufacturing when we started. It looked to me as though we were driving the principle to an extreme. But if we were compelled to abide by the conduct which we had adopted at the beginning of the war (and there is some authority for that), then in my judgment we should also have stood by our decision made at the beginning of the war with respect to foreign loans. We said such loans would be improper, and we changed our mind and permitted unparalleled loans to be made for war purposes; and we have never justified that conduct in the light of the decision we made with respect to ammunition.

Why should the people sit by and permit these things to pass without reflection? Is it right simply because somebody interested says so? And have I not the right as a citizen of the United States to question; have I not the right to think? And if I have, is not the duty imposed upon me to speak? Foreign loans! We were told at the time that they were made for the extension of foreign trade. We had great schemes then for the conquest of trade that other countries were bound to lose. What has it come to? We are still giving the glad hand to South America and getting little business; and we are still doing an abnormally profitable business with our old friends. That is what we are doing. One concern makes a showing of \$54,000,000 profits on ammunition in one year, and it is blandly said that part of the dividends are being paid in English and French bonds. That is foreign trade with a vengeance, is it not? Have we not the right to reflect upon these things?

There is the submarine question. I do not want to discuss at length the right or wrong of a question which is now pending and a decision upon which question is imminent. But I want to call attention to one phase of it which, in my judgment, is very important. It is perfectly natural that there should be a difference of opinion



about that issue. There is a great difference of opinion about it in this country, and I know of no point of controversy with respect to which so many sympathizers with Great Britain are of the opinion that we are wrong in our contention. It is very remarkable how many men believe that we are really not justified in insisting upon our position. In other words, there is an honest difference of opinion. Now what are the facts? It is said that merchantmen have a right to carry guns. That probably was the law; and it was based upon the right to protect themselves against pirates. It was not contemplated with respect to times of war with recognized enemies. The privilege was not used before this war. Merchantmen did not carry guns. The French do not carry them now. They do not seem to meet pirates anywhere.

Churchill, Lord of the Admiralty, said, in 1913, that he was making arrangements with navigation companies to rebuild their merchantmen in such fashion as to make provision for guns, in order that during war they might be armed; and that he proposed to provide for the ammunition and accompanying equipment for those guns. That was his statement in 1913. The ships were so changed; and the comment of the author upon whom I rely, is that it is obvious that the idea of using merchantmen in time of war in connection with the navy evidently is not obsolete. That is the statement.

Now merchantmen are armed and the doubt is whether this is done for offensive or defensive purposes. That is a pretty nice question. It all turns upon who is to draw first. Anybody who has read a Western story, with gunmen in it, knows just what that means. And no wonder people have difficulty in determining what is offensive and what is defensive. Is it to depend in each case upon the particular conduct of the submarine after it shows itself, or upon the possibility of offensive attack by the merchantman upon general orders given, or upon a general policy pursued, or upon any other of many possible conditions? The difficulty, to my mind, is that we are involved in interminable confusion. It is extremely difficult, if that is to be the test, to say what is offensive and what is defensive. In every case I should think we would have a controversy, because each side would contend for its position, one saying he did not mean to take the offensive, and the other saying he undoubtedly did; with the disadvantage that probably one will be at the bottom of the sea, and we will sit in judgment. But that is not the real question that concerns me. The question that presents itself to me is this: Where is the cause for severance of relations with a country because of a difference of that kind? Suppose we cannot agree upon it. We insist that the submarine should not attack, and Germany insists that she will; one saying that a merchantman so armed is not a part of the armed force, and the other saying that it is; one relying upon report, and the other saying that he relies upon experience. Where is the cause for war, or for severance of relations? No attack is aimed at us. It is perfectly obvious that Germany is endeavoring in every way to yield, to comply with our wishes. It is altogether clear that the government of Germany does not want difficulty with us. And it is beyond dispute that any misfortune



that any citizen of ours may meet upon a ship of that kind is a mere incident to the warfare between two other countries. Just precisely as a citizen of ours would suffer the consequences if he traveled on a train in the war zone.

During the war I traveled from Switzerland up to Frankfort, as close to the Rhine as I could. I was far from the battle line, but I was with soldiers all the time; some going out, and sometimes wounded men coming back. Of course, I realized that a train of that kind would be a proper subject of attack. What is the difference in principle, if our citizen travels upon a ship of that description, conceding that we may be found to be right ultimately? It presents a real difference of opinion between two countries. The consequences are not aimed at us; but they are an unfortunate incident of active warfare. How can we base so grave a decision with respect to a friendly power upon an act that lacks all intent to injure us? (Applause.)

To defer the dispute would be quite in keeping with our attitude throughout this war. We have deferred question after question. We have protested, and protested vigorously, but we have again and again postponed action because we could not come to an agreement with another country. We say in this instance that this is a recognized international rule; that it has always been the practice for merchantmen to carry guns if they wanted to. But other rules have been established and recognized that are not now respected. Take the simple question of the blockade. No such blockade as is now practiced has ever been known in history. We protest, but we do not do more. Because of a difference of opinion between two countries, I take it.

It has always been recognized that a neutral power had the right to ship to a friendly nation engaged in war foodstuffs for civilians. They were recognized as non-contraband goods. That is well admitted, and Great Britain and the United States particularly agreed upon it. In the Boer war Lord Salisbury said that any foodstuffs sent to a belligerent cannot be intercepted unless it is shown that they are intended for the military force. That was his decision. In the Japanese war Landsdowne took the same position, in equally strong language, because Japan undertook to intercept rice. Great Britain's protest was based upon the ground that the shipment could not be confiscated unless it was made to appear that it was intended for the army. And he went further; he said that the decision of a prize court would not be conclusive unless it were shown that that decision was in line with the recognized principles of international law.

Secretary Hay, in answer to our ambassador, in a lengthy statement, laid down the same rule absolutely and unequivocally. So, if we are to insist upon the law as it stood at the beginning of the war, why, by all means, let us do it. What I am contending for is impartiality and neutrality, and the same attitude with respect to all countries. I insist upon it in justice to the countries at war, with all of whom we have been friendly, and I trust may continue to be friendly. I insist upon it in justice to our own people. We are a



new people, and we must have regard for the sympathies, sometimes the intensity of feeling, and the judgment of our own citizenship, and must not permit a suspicion or belief to grow that we are not in all things absolutely just. (Applause.)

But the argument is made, and I think that is largely traced to feeling, sad as the instances are, that one life lost at sea through a disregard of our rights under international law, is worth more than all the commerce that we may sacrifice by a disregard of our rights. I agree to that, but let us look at it fairly. However tragic the loss of life, the real question after all remains: are we in the right? And whatever the conclusion, there are some Americans even in Germany; citizens of the United States. They had a right to believe when they remained there that we would insist upon our right to send foodstuffs to that country for civilians. If these Americans are subjected to hardship they suffer because of our acquiescence in a disregard of an admitted rule of law. It is probable that some of those American citizens have babies who depend for their lives upon the milk that we, contrary to law, are prevented from sending over for their protection. (Applause.)

I speak of these things, I repeat, to show that there are two sides to these questions. That it will not do to meet a man who asks questions with impatience and intolerance; and after ascertaining how he spells his name to ask him whether he is loyal to his own country. (Applause.) I remember the Civil War, and I do not feel that I have to prove my loyalty. I had a bitter taste of it. Not old enough to be a soldier, I nevertheless got full measure of hardship's experience. I am speaking of the general attitude. There are a great many Americans in the armies of the Allies; and very few Americans in the German and Austrian armies. Why this impatience? They have a right to go; but there is no reason why we should make heroes of Americans who fight on one side against the other, when our country professes to be neutral. It shows the attitude. Thousands of men have gone over. We speak of them proudly in this country; with distinction. I am not complaining of it, but why denounce the sympathy of other people who are not doing more than expressing their opinions and their beliefs? We need more toleration and fairness of mind.

Now, we are approaching a more exciting time. We are less impatient than we were three months ago about hyphenated citizens. There is going to be an election in this country, and the effect is apparent. I do not rejoice in it; I am sorry that it is so. But I predicted it. I appeal to my friends not to be offended, not to indulge in "Empfindlichkeit;" but trust that the difficulties will all blow over.

Personally I do not believe in the hyphenated name; at least, not in politics. I have always said that I am a German-American, if you want to know where I hail from. But if you want to know what I am as a citizen of the United States, then I am not German-American, but an American. That is my view. (Applause.) I have always believed that there is very great danger in political organizations of a dual description, and that the transition is too easy from the social to the political status.

There is only one kind of political system in the United States, and that, for the present, is a republic. We ought to bear in mind, all of us, the Anglo-American just as well as the Irish, Italian, German, and so on, that there is only one kind of citizenship in the United States if we propose to get along with each other. But the symptoms are multiplying that there will be less said about the hyphen, and that it will be more respected.

Even now we have distinguished candidates who are giving exhibitions of that trend. Before one audience they eat goulash, and before another they eat spaghetti; and I have no doubt but that they will come to Sauerkraut in June. Not because they like it, but because they want to do something for the delectation of the spectators. These gentlemen are not, in my judgment, showing appreciation of the sweet customs of different peoples, for which there is much room. We might well unite the customs and traditions of the different peoples and mold something out of it stronger and better for ourselves than any one nation has. That sort of respect and appreciation makes for the best. But, unhappily, there is disposition now to appeal to something that borders on prejudice; to indulge in something that is like flattery. Where the hyphenated citizen was denounced only a few months ago—I believe it was three months ago—he will be in very great danger, by the end of October of this year, of having conferred upon him the order “*pour le merite*.” That is not for good. We do not want that in this country. We want to avoid it. It is for that reason that I gave offense to some of my fellowmen by insisting that I would not join any political organization that bore a hyphenated name. It was not a new position. It has been my position as long as I have been a voter. I have belonged to German singing societies, yes; although I have to admit while they let me join, they did not let me sing, because I am never in tune. I have not, however, belonged to political organizations based upon distinct foreign nationality. Great exception has been taken in the past. I was never assailed as bitterly in my life as I was while Secretary of Commerce and Labor by the German-American Alliance. They did not understand my position, in my judgment. I follow the same conviction now, because a contrary course does not make for union of all our people, but does make for friction among our people. If you share my view you must, of course, assert your convictions upon public questions; and, to repeat, that does not mean that a man of German, or French, or Dutch, or Irish descent must take his orders from somebody who insists that he can trace his ancestry to England. That is not a true interpretation of United States citizenship. This is not another kind of England. This is the United States. I have the right to recall that my people came from that section in which the German tribes lived at the time when Tacitus wrote about them. That goes pretty far back; and I have no reason to be ashamed. Those tribes were known for their respect for women; that is a good attribute even today. They were known for singing religious songs when they went into battle; that characterizes them today. It is pretty good old stock, and I wonder why people of English descent are so willing to forget where they really



come from. (Applause.) I do not say that in a spirit of criticism, but in perfect good nature. There are no men in my acquaintance who have had more admiration for Great Britain than I. In fact, I was brought up to cherish our institutions that we trace to Great Britain. English is the language of our Nation, and every citizen should speak it and read it. I have looked to her statesmen for many of the best things that I have treasured in public life. I treasure them now. In my office and in my study at home the pictures of great Englishmen are on the wall, and I would not take them down, because I think I am true to their principles today. But I am challenged because I venture to doubt whether some modern Englishmen are in all respects true to those principles now.

Is my loyalty and citizenship here to be tested by my willingness to disavow not only my own descent, but my admiration for any people but one? Why, there are some persons who would base an amalgamation of two countries upon the fact that they speak the same language. That is like saying that you may join that amalgamation provided you are ignorant of all languages but one; and that is a very sad plight to be in. The fact is, that this country suffers from nothing so much as from its dependence upon one language. (Applause.) If we had more people in this country who could read several languages, English, French, German, Italian, or any other language, we would have been familiar with foreign conditions to such an extent that it would have been impossible for us to be surprised as we were by the war news upon which we are fed.

We are constantly told that anyone who can weigh evidence must conclude that the cause of the Allies is just. But I submit that we have before us not a case of weighing evidence so much as we have a cause for taking and understanding testimony. Because of our dependence upon one language we started with limited information; and we have since then permitted an interested party to employ that same language to present and to determine the facts for us.

Now, I am not here to belittle the gravity of our problem in this country. I place a very high standard on citizenship, and I admit, and I have reason to admit, and know from my experience with the immigration question, that there are a great many elements to be dealt with in this country that cannot be turned into citizenship by naturalization papers alone. That is the greatest mistake in the world. My criticism upon the present Americanization speeches and addresses is chiefly that the speakers do not understand that they must go beyond and deeper than the paper citizenship. I would rather have a good resident who is not a citizen than a bad resident who is. The naturalization document does not solve the citizen situation. We must go deeper. We are told that we must teach the newcomer to understand us. That is true, but he will never understand us until we understand him. (Applause.) That is the situation. It is a tremendous problem—not to be lightly dealt with—and if we think that we can do it by mass meetings, and by speeches, and by demonstration, we are mistaken. I believe in observing the days for celebration, and in hanging out the flag. I believe all those things



impress people and inspire them. But that alone will not do it. If I go through my city on the Fourth of July, as I often have done, I have no difficulty in concluding that the houses that bear a United States flag of some size, often very small, are generally owned by the people who have been in this country the least number of years. That is true. That does not settle the question, although it shows the impulse upon which we must build. But you cannot build upon impulse successfully unless you invite confidence; and you cannot invite confidence unless you have toleration and understanding. That is my idea. There is much to be learned from other countries; there is much brought to this country by newcomers from all the countries; by some more and by some less. The German element has made a very substantial contribution in this country, in spite of all that has been said of late. We need not dwell upon the customary evidences—art, music, literature, philosophy, and so forth. Let the gentlemen in the universities quarrel over that now, as they used to agree.

Take the farmer alone. There is nothing as essential in this country as the right-minded men and women who are willing to labor upon the soil. That is what we need, men who are not afraid, and women who are not afraid to work. Who is doing it? The gentlemen who are criticising everybody who has an opinion that they do not like? Not for a minute. The farming is done, in the first order by the Germans, Swedes, Norwegians, Poles and the Bohemians; and, now the Italians. They are the conquerors of the soil. They have the richest lands in the country; the richest counties in every state. That is the backbone of all our prosperity. In fact, I have sometimes said the trouble with the East is, at least with some Eastern cities, that they know too little about the United States. When they know what our crop reports are, most of their interest is satisfied; and that is not said slightly or lightly. There is a great deal of truth in it. Now it is so easy to communicate with other countries that it was found much more easy to communicate across the Atlantic than across the United States; and much more attractive. There is some reason in that; I think I might have found it so myself; many of us would. But that does not destroy the fact that this Nation depends upon the men and women who are willing to work the soil; and that that force comes from the elements that have been mainly criticized. It is that hardy spirit that comes from the other side, and largely from Germany, that has pointed the way. We have much to learn. As I said, we are acquiring militarism; we have to learn the economic system. We have to learn, above all, the system by which men and women are preserved in their strength, self-respect, devotion and self-abnegation for the country. That is what we have to learn. (Applause.)

I saw the picture after the war started. I saw some of it in Switzerland; I saw it in Holland; although those countries were not in war, they had much to show. But in Germany I saw a demonstration of devotion, of religious devotion to a cause above self such as I should have said could not have been shown at this time in the world. No question asked by anyone; no complaint, and no hysteria; everyone in his or her place. When the men went forward out of the fields, the women went into the fields to bring in the crops; children and



old people volunteering to help. That spirit may not determine the right or wrong of the war; but it is the spirit which is sustaining that nation, and without which no nation can be sustained. That is what we have to learn.

But there is another question that presents itself now. This war will end sometime, although some ammunition factory owners hope that it will not. The opinion which was entertained by so many, that this war could end in only one way, is being considerably shaken. I do not want any country destroyed; any civilized nation. That has been my hope from the beginning, and it is my hope now. But it is a mistake for us to proceed in this country upon the assumption that this war must result in a particular way; and it is a mistake for us to suppose that we can prosper by having invited the animosity, or distrust, of any civilized people. The idea that is prevalent in this country now, that we can prosper immediately or later upon the misfortune of other nations, is a myth and a falsehood. It is a temporary get-rich-quick process, localized, going to a few people, and creating distrust and lack of confidence among thousands of right-minded people. (Applause.)

Apart from that, it is for those who feel that the side with which they would naturally sympathize has been neglected, to give all the support that they can to a rational, reasonable peace when it comes. Every country has its conflicts. Great Britain has had its war party, and it had great men and women who to this day regret that that war was ever declared. Have your respect go out to those people, because they acted just as finely as British men and women ever did. There were Frenchmen of the same kind. In Germany today there is a division of opinion, and there is no question in my mind that the government is doing everything in its power to sustain friendly relations with this Nation; to preserve the record of over a century, in which Germany has in every instance stood by the United States. Do not help create conditions in this country that will make it difficult to renew or to preserve and to maintain those relations. We cannot do without them and they cannot do without us. That kind of a division after the war would be a world calamity. This involves more than this Nation or that, because you must remember Sweden, Norway and Holland, all Teutonic nations, and neutral, play a very large part in this situation, and have some very strong convictions. That has to be regarded. We cannot serve the general cause better than by keeping our own heads. Not by hiding our opinions, not by apologizing for our position; but not, on the other hand, by indulging in hasty criticism, by stirring up the feeling of which we ourselves complain, but by recognizing that we are one people. If this Republic is to succeed, we are bound to become one people. A people of our own kind. Neither English, nor German, nor French, nor Italian, nor Swede, nor Norwegian, nor Jew, nor Pole, but one nation. We must have a type of our own. You may see it now. When you watch our men in uniform go down the avenue you will see an eye, a chin, a nose and a forehead that is American. If we are to succeed at all, it will be by sinking our race prejudice and creating one American type. (Great Applause.)

